House of Representatives, March 6, 1850.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, on the President's Message transmitting the Constitution of California-

Mr. STANLY said: This hour-rule, Mr. Chairman compels us to economize time very closely, and consolidate ideas as much as possible. It will try and do so, that I may not write out any thing more than I shall say.

I wish to say a few plain things in a plain way. I wish to say a little for Buncombe—not only the western, but the eastern Buncombe which I represent; and, if honorable gentlemen are not desirous to hear this, I advise them to take themselves, on this rainy day, to a more comfortable place than this. I intend most of what I say for my constituents. I have not spoken before, because I thought when matters of such vast magnitude were involved, we ought to wait, and hear what the people at home have to say of them. Now, I feel prepared not merely to express my own opinions, but those also of my honest constituents. I hope to say nothing offensive to any gentlemen; certainly, I have no such desire. I shall most carefully avoid to strike the first blow. If I am assailed, I must take care of myself in the best way I may; and now to come right at it.

I have heard a great deal said here, and read much recent ly, of "encroachment on the South-aggressions on the South;" and though I know we have cause in some respects to complain of the conduct of a portion of our Northern peo ple, I cannot include the whole North in the just censure du to the conduct of the aggressors. I have attentively watched the debate here and in the Senate. I have looked at the party newspapers of the day, and I have been brought to th settled belief—yea, conviction—that much of the hue and cry is caused by a malignant wish to embarrass the Administration, and to build up the party whom the people hurled from power in November, 1848. Many of the speeches here, relative to the admission of California, are marked by unkind allusion to the President, and sometimes improper and furious, though feeble, aspersions as to his motives.

It seemed to me that if gentlemen, from the South espe-

cially, believed our peculiar institutions were in danger, they would desire to produce harmony of feeling—to speak calmly, as to brethren in the midst of a common danger—that they would try and produce united action. But, instead of manifesting such a disposition, the Administration is ruthlessly assailed, and the Whig party fiercely denounced. For examples of these party speeches, I refer to that of the gentle-man from Mississippi, (Mr. Baown,) and of the gentleman from Maryland, (Mr. McLans,) who, on this matter, made a party speech, and tried, as he did before the House was orto blow his boatswain's whistle, and pipe all hands on his side to duty. There were other speeches of a like character. I want to show that this agitation—this attempt to excite alarm-is now, as it was last summer, in the Southern States, for party purposes. I believe I can show it.
In 1837, when Mr. Van Buren was President, an aboli-

tion petition, presented by a gentleman from Vermont, I think, produced a great tumult here. A Southern meeting was held in a committee-room down stairs. Patton's resolution, which rejected abolition petitions, was the fruit of that meeting. Presenting this petition was one of Mr. Calhoun's "encroachments." Mr. Van Burea's friends found it necessary to sustain him, as a "Northern man with Southern principles, and then he made this abolition excitement the platform for his election to the Presidency. In vain did the Whys at that time warn the Southern country he would be a traitorthat his past life had shown he was unsound upon the ques tion of slavery. No matter what should be the consequence to the South, his game was to be played. In 1838, Mr. Woodbury was in Van Buren's cabinet, and was engaged in that interesting co respondence to his subtreasurers, Mr. Atherton, of New Hampsbire, who was called the prince of humbugs, introduced his wooden nutmeg, doughfaced, chivalry resolutions. A caucus was held, in which Southern Van Buren Democrats sat side by side with the worst anti-slavery men, from which secret caucus all the Southern Whigs were excluded; and these resolutions, then denounced as Janusfaced and double-meaning, were the hybrid offspring of that caucus. These resolutions were to quiet agitation. I de-nounced them, and refused to vote for them, and I was sustained at home. They were also denounced, if I mistake not, by other Southern gentlemen, as betraying the South.

When General Harrison was nominated, he was denoun

ced as an abolitionist, Mr. Clay was an abolitionist, and Mr. Van Buren's doughfaces were the friends and "allies of the South." I hope the race of doughfaces is extinct. They were a miserable set of beings-mere puppers of Van Buren, anti-slavery men at home, allies of the South here. Now and then, one is alive, mourning for the lost spoils, and editing a paper that tries to alarm the South by the old song o "The Whigs are abolitionists." Once we were told there are no Democratic abolitionists at the North. Now how changed! Even in the Senate, a member of that body (Mr. CLEMENS, of Alabama, a Dem crat, on the 17th January,

"I said the people of the South had been heretotore laboring under the delusion that the Northern Democrats were their friends. I said it was a delusion, and I was glad to have an opportunity of explaining it to them. God deliver me from such friends as the Northern Democrats! I would rather trust Northern Whice to-day ! They commenced the game earlier. and have not to go so far to get in a proper position. Look at the resolutions of Democratic Legislatures, and the messages of Democratic Governors, and the resolutions adopted by Democratic conventions, and then tell me about Northern Democrats being the friends of the South.'

Mr. Calhoun, too, thinks all the Northern people are "more or less hostile to us." Sir, I will not admit that either of the great parties of the North, as such, are hostile to the South. Some members of each are hostils-are fanatical; but the great body of both parties at the North, I cannot believe, are traitors to the constitution and the Union. And, sir, it affords me pleasure to say, that when I hear bold and manly speeches, such as those made by the gentlemen from Illinois (Mr. Bissel) and from Indiana, (Mr. Firen) I honor their intrepidity—I feel that the Union is safe. time is passed, I hope, when I can be unjust to a patriot bediffers with me in political opinions. My intercourse with members of the Democratic party in my own State Legislature, removed many prejudices; my intercourse with gentlemen of that party here has proved that many of them are true to the Union; and, upon such questions as those now under discussion here, I shall be proud to be allowed to tender them the right hand of fellowship, and to acknowledge them as worthy laborers in a common cause. speak not here of the doughfaces-the men who, for party purposes, agitate the country that they may win the spoils of office. I had rather meet abolitionists here than such men—if they can be called so. No: I would say with a slight alteration of one of Canning's verses:

"Give me the avowed, erect, and manly fee;

Open, I can meet, perhaps may turn his blow; But of all the plagues, great Heaven, thy wrath can send, Save, oh save me, from a doughface friend!"

But, sir, to pursue my argument. In proof of the charge I make that there is a desire to produce agitation for party purposes, I beg attention to a short extract from the "Union newspaper (Democratic) of this city. I call the attention of my honest Democratic colleagues to this. In the "Union" of February 14, 1850, I find the following :

"THE SOUTHERN WHICH HAVE PROVED THEMSELVES TO BE THE WORST ENEMIES OF THE SOUTH, AND OF SOUTHERN INSTITUTIONS. BUT THE PRESENT IS NO TIME FOR CRIMINA-TION AND RECRIMINATION. LET THE PATRIOTS OF ALL PAR-

"No time for crimination !" Then why deal in it " " Patriots of all parties!" But, as the Northern Whigs are ceaselessly denounced as abolitionists, and the Southern Whigs "enemies of the South," who are the "all parties?" Those, I suppose, who vote for the "regular nominees of the Demo

My Democratic colleagues, I know, cannot justify such conduct. I will not descend to crimination; but what an argument! If the whole North are hostile to the South, and it the Southern Whigs are "the worstenemies of the South and Southern institutions," what are to become of those Southern States in which the Whigs have the majority '

Besides this extract, just quoted, there are others of like character, one of which was read to us yesterday by the gentleman from Florids, (Mr. CABELL.) In the Union of February 28, 1850, in the leading editorial article, we are told :

"The alliance of Northern Abolition-Federalists and Southern slaveholding Whigs has attempted to prostrate the Demo-cratic party of the North, who stood for half a century firmly by the compromises of the constitution, which protected Southern institutions, and it has succeeded in compelling the Northern Democracy TO MODIFF ITS POSITIONS IN RELATION TO THE INSTITUTIONS AND INTERESTS OF THE SOUTH."

No "time for crimination!" and the Northern Democracy has "modified its position!" How! By alliance with the ab ditionists? There are other charges of like character in this and other papers which I have no time to read.

ais no proof of the design to agitate for party effect It proves that now, as in 1838, it is what my colleague from Buncombe district called it, "a game." In his speech in 1844, my colleague, (Mr. CLINGMAN,) as reported in the Appendix to the Congressional Globe, 28th Congress, first

session, referred to the fact-"That although there were near eighty D-mocratic memonly thirteen, 'with all possible coaxing,' voted for the rule How is it with the Southern wing of the party? Its members make most vehement speeches in favor of the rule; declare that the Union will be dissolved if it is abolished; and charge as high treason all opposition to it. They are especially ve-hement in their denunciations of me, and desire to make the impression that its loss, if it should be rejected, is mainly to be attributed to my success senses it."

"The game which they have been playing off, is seen through by every body here, and it is getting to be understood

attributed to my speech against it."

Just as the game which the Bobadils are playing off now is not this produce civil war? Will it enable us to recover fuis profitable to direct, which is first
nderstood, and I adopt the language of my colleague in what gitive slaves? understood, and I adopt the language of my colleague in what follows. I think it was true of the party to whom it was applied then, in 1844, and especially true now of those of the South who wish disorder should reign, and of the one-idea, fanatical Wilmot proviso men of the North. Hear these

words:

"The game which they have been playing off is seen through by every body here, and it is getting to be understood in the country. There was a time when gentlemen, by giving themself airs, and talking largely of Southern rights, in counexion with this subject, were able to give themselves consequence at home; but that day has passed. Its mock tragedy has degenerated into dowaright farce, and nobody will be humbugged much longer in this way. But the matter is important in one respect. Nothing could more fully show the utter profligacy of the party, its total want of all principle, than the course of its Northern and Southern wings on this question. They, hope, however, by thus spreading their nets to drag in votes in both sections of the Union, and thereby get into power."

Yes, sir, there's the irue secret of this agistation—"get

Yes, sir, there's the true secret of this agistation-"get to power"-" to the victors belong the spoils"-adhere to Democratic nominations, even for doorkeeper, or the granite loughfaces will let the Union be dissolved.

I concur in what my colleague said of this agitation it 1844, and especially in a note to his speech, in which he says

"A certain prominent Southern politician, seeing that his course had rendered him unpopular generally, reized upon this question to create excitement between the North and the South, and unite the South thereby into a political party, of which he expected to be the head. There are also individuals at the North, who, though professing opposition to the rule, are, in my opinion, really desirous of its continuance, as a means of producing agitation in that quarter. A portion of them entertain the hope that the excitement there may attain a sufficient height to enable them successfully to invade the institutions of the South; but the larger number are simply seeking tions of the South; but the larger number are simply seeking to produce a strong prejudice in the popular mind in the free States against Southern institutions and men, on which to base a political party strong enough to control the offices of the courter."

Now, sir, I think a prominent Southern politician is playing he same game, and the one idea Wilmot proviso men are still trying to control the offices of the country. Some want to get to ongress, or to stay there, or to be placed at the head of me important committee, by voting for the "favorite can-

idate" of the party.

It was a "game" when my colleague referred to it, it is "game now." I fear my colleague does not remember this

Mr. CLINGMAN said, yes. Mr. STANLY. Well, sir, I will print the extract from the peech of 1844, and let it go to Buncombe, with the late

yeech of my colleague.

Yes, sir, the "game" is still to be played, and now the refusal to surrender fugitive slaves" is another Northern aggression complained of. I admit the Northern States have acted badly in this instance. Both parties have played the game too far of trying to get abolition votes. I cannot see how any man, who has sworn to support the constitution can refuse to pass any law that may be deemed necessary. The conduct of the Northern States in this respect is admitted by some of their own citizens to be without excuse. No one condemns it more decidedly than I do : and I believe, from all

have heard, this abuse will be remedied. But still the noise made about this is part of the "game, part of the "party operations." One would suppose from speeches made here that no slaves had escaped from the South ntil Cass's defeat.

But to the recent history of this. In 1838, shortly after the Atherton resolutions were passed, a worthy gentleman from Kentucky, then a member of this House, introduced the solution I hold in my hand, which I will print :

"Mr. Calhoon, of Kentucky, moved that the rules in rela-tion to the order of business be suspensed, to enable him to move a resolution; which was read at the Clerk's table, and is in the words following, viz:
"Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary be in

structed to report a bill making it unlawful for any person to aid fugitive slaves in escaping from their owners, and providing for the punishment in the courts of the United States of all persons who may be guilty of such offence.

"And that they be further instructed to report a bill making

t unlawful for any person in the non-slaveholding States of this Union to use any means to induce slaves from their owners, and providing for the punishment, in the courts of the United States, of all persons who may be found guilty of such offence.

"And on the question, 'Shall the rules be suspended for the purpose aforesaid?" it passed in the negative: Yeas 90, nays 107."

Among the navs were Mr. Atherton, and fifty-four other Northen "allies of the South."

Now, sir, is it not singular that, from that period down o the present, as far as my knowledge extends, no effort has seen made until General Taylor's election to demand addional legislation upon this subject?

If any such effort has been made, I do not know it. Were here no fugitive slaves since 1838 ? Well, Mr. Van Buren was President three years after that, and no bill passed for fugitive slaves. In the twenty-fifth Congress, from 1837 to 1839, Mr. Polk was Speaker. From 1839 to 1841, twentysixth Congress, Mr. HUNTER, of Virginia, was Speaker. Democratic majority here, and no bill for fugitive slaves!

Tyler was President from April, 1841, to March, 1845. During the first year of Tyler's term, Mr. White, of Kentucky, was Speaker; and from 1843 to 1845, Mr. Jones, of Virginia, was Speaker, and a Democratic majority here, with a Virginia President, and no bill for reclaiming fugitive slaves! Then, from March, 1845, to March, 1849, Mr. Pok, a Southern President, and during two years Mr. Davis, of Indiana, a fugitive slaves! Nothing said by Virginia members even,

rom 1838 till now! Mr. VENABLE. Will my honorable colleague allow me to remind him that before the Presidential canvass, at the first session of the last Congress, on the abduction of a number of slaves from this District, I raised that question, and delivered a speech upon that subject '

Mr. STANLY. My colleague may have raised the question t that time, but there was no legislative action in this House on that subject, nor any attempt to procure any that I know of. And my colleague raised the question, when there was great excitement here, on account of one act of outrage. He did not still try to procure action on the part of Congress, to enable the Southern people to recover their slaves. Mr. BAYLY. Will the gentleman allow me to put him

ight on a matter of fact ' Mr. STANLT. If not out of my time.

Mr. BAYLY understood the gentleman to say, that from 838, the time of Atherton's resolution, to this time, nothing has been said by Virginia members on the subject of the surrender of fugitive slaves.

Mr. Stanly. Nothing for the action of Congress.

Mr. BATLT. Well, the subject was before the Legislaure of Virginia in 1841 and 1842, and it was never brought before this House, because we came to the conclusion that the law of 1793 was as nearly perfect as it could be, and that it only required that it should be executed in good faith. Mr. STABLE. Yes, sir, and you changed your opinion of

that law as soon as Gen. Taylor was elected President. And would ask, why legislate further if that law is sufficient We cannot create "good faith" by act of Congress. I admit, Mr. Chairma., that Virginia is still a great and glorious Commonwealth. She has much to be proud of in the past history of this country. She needs no eulogy from me, and, though must censure and shall ridicule the conduct of some of her public men. I shall speak respectfully of the State. Many of my dearest friends and nearest relatives reside within her borers, and they have, I believe, done no discredit to her, in beace or war. But, sir, the Old Dominion is too much in the habit of taking care of the affairs of the General Govern nent, and the debates in her Legislature are not as important in the eyes of the country as they are to the chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, (Mr. BAYLY.) And I should be glad to know why, if the Representatives from Virginia thought the law of 1793 sufficient, did the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. Means) introduce his resolution, soon after Gen. Taylor's election, proposing to instruct the Commit'ee on the Judiciary to report a bill providing for the ap

rehension of fugitive slaves ! So, I repeat, from 1838 to 1848-until December, 1848, when the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. MEADE) offered his esolution-all the Southern Democ acy, now crying out at this dreadful aggression, never moved a finger to procure any law relative to fugitive slaves! No, sir, they were "as mute as a mouse in a cheese"—yes, sir, as a first family Virginia nouse in an English cheese. The rea on was, as my colleague (Mr. VENABLE) said, in some poor verses quoted by im in his speech-

The laurels were fairly portioned, The spoils were fairly sold.'

Mr. VENABLE. The "lands," I said. Mr. STANLY. I accept the correction; it was printed 'laurels," but my colleague is right; the Southern De nocracy, whatever of "spoils" they got, won no "laurels" luring the last ten years with their Northern allies.

No, sir ; the truth is, Cass was a "used up man;" TATLOR vas elected; the "spoils" were gone; the cohesive power was st. Truly, as Job said, "Doth the wild ass bray when he ath grass? or loweth the ox over his fodder?

I have watched the progress of the debate in the Senate, nd from the published speeches in the newspapers I see a repectable Senator from Virginia (Mr. Mason) said he wanted the bill acted on "as soon as practicable," but had "little hope it would afferd the remedy it is intended to afford;" "it Another Senator, from South Carolina, (Mr. BUTLER,)

aid "he had no very great confidence that this bill will suberve the ends which seem to be contemplated by it." Why, then, I ask, so zealously urge the passage of it? One of here Senators (Mr. Mason) also intimated that it might beome necessary for the States whose citizens lost negroes "to nake reprisals on the cirizens of the State offending! Now this, it seems to me, would be but a poor way of doing justice to our citizens. If one rogue in Ohio or Pennsylvania steal a negro, we are to take the wagon-horse of some bonest old farmer, who lived hundreds of miles from the thief! Will

Now, sir, I think I have proved that this newborn zeal for legislation to enable us to recover fugitive slaves, is all owing to the defeat of General Cass.

Well, sir, among other reasons given why we should think of dissolution, is the fact that the Southern States are annoyed by the "agitation of abolitionists." The Southern noved by the "agitation of abolitionists." The Southern seems of the southern that the state are annoyed by the "agitation of abolitionists." The Southern seems of the southern that a hundred years been opposed to slavery. In the southern seems of the south."

It commenced, sir, before the year 1787. The Quakers have for more than a hundred years been opposed to slavery. In the southern gentlemen said if that rule should be repealed, and these petitions received, the Union would be dissolved. My colleague (Mr. Clingman) had the boldness to vote against the them the southern seems of the south."

Brown, afterwards Governor of Tennessee, Mr. Cobb, of Georgia, our Speaker, Mr. Stiles, of Georgia, and by Mr. R. M. Saunders, of North Carolina. Some extracts of their speeches are before me, and I will print them, to show them the bound man guiltless who shall go are interested to constitution of the United States. There commendation the constitution of the United States. There commendation the constitution of the United States. There commendation the spectage and and the subject of reference, report, and debate in this hall." "Our safety," said he, "depends upon it." He begged the "real friends" of the South, if they could not altogether exclude those petitions, not to refer them for debate, &c. And he added:

"The South will hold no man guiltless who shall go and princh beyond the right of petition. He must answer for every invertible to the second and dis

not to refer them for debate, &c. And he added:

"The South will hold no man guiltless who shall go one inch beyond the right of petition. He must answer for every fire that may be kindled and for every drop of blood that may be shed. Yes, sir; I will say to the gentlemen from New York and from North Carolina, (Mr. CLINGRAN,) if this House shall go one inch beyond that, they may have to stand answerable for the shattered and broken fragments of the Union itself."—See Appendix to Cong. Globe, 28th Congress, lat session.

Mr. Conn, of Georgia, after complimenting the Northern Democracy for their devotion to the interests of the South-for their "sincere friendship"—referred to the fact that some of the Northern Democracy were abandoning the rule, on account of the opposition of some few Southern members to it.

"Thus it is that the defection of our Northern friends is at-"Thus it is that the defection of our Northern friends is attributable to our own divisions. Let the fact, then, be published to the country, that the responsibility of this measure may rest upon those who justly deserve it—upon whom an indignant and outraged people may place the seal of their condemnation. I trust, however, that no such division will be found to exist. No Southern Democrat, I am sure, will about the latest the seal of their condemnation. don his post; and but few, if any, Southern Whigs will be found following in the wake of the gentleman from North Carolina."—Appendix to Cong. Globe, 28th Congress, 1st sess.

I have an extract before me from the speech of Mr. Stiles,

of Georgia, which I will print. Mr. Stiles spoke unler ex-cits ment, and very wildly. It was made in the House of Representatives, January 28 and 30, 1844, on the wentyfifth rule, relating to abolition petitions. In replying to the remarks of Mr. Clingman, (Appendix to Congressional Globe, 28th Congress, 1st session, page 262,) Mr. Stiles spoke of he constitution as a citadel, a fortress, and this rule was a "barrier:" and be said :

" While that remains, the fortress stands; when it is gone, the fortress falls. That barrier can be removed only by some one within. The fortress can be taken, the citalel lost, one within. The fortress can be taken, the citalet lost, only by treachery in the camp. I will pursue this simile no further. But let me tell the member from North Carolina, that if this rule is lost from the relation in which he stands to and the part which he has borne in this transaction, he may go home to his constituents, and to his grave, covered with the menviable immortality of having betrayed the interests of the south—in having surrendered the constitution of his country." Mr. R. M. Saunders, of North Carolina, thought with

clamor about the right of petition," he said : "They might as soon expect to extinguish the conflagration by adding fuel to the flames. I repeat, then, there is but one alternative—rejection without action, or reception and action. There is no middle ground can satisfy those who are resolved to press this matter, whatever its consequences.—Ibpendix o Cong. Globe, 28th Congress, 1st session, January

the argument that to receive petitions would sience the

How much mistaken! Since the repeal of the rule, how seldom we see an abolition petition!

Mr. Saunders appeared to have been sincerely distressed

He appealed to the doughfaces in an extract before me: "Mr. Saunders said : I ask the gentlemen from Maine, here be any here, who have hitherto stood by us, why the should now give way? I turn to our friends from Connecticut, and ask them why they should yield? If I appeal in vain by patriotic New Hampshire, whose sons, like her granite basis, have hitherto breasted the storm; they, I know, will not give way. So I call upon our friends from the Keystone State not to surrender because a single soldier in the South has deserted us on this trying occasion."—Appendix to Cong Globe, 28th Cong. 1st session.

How much mistaken, I say again, these gentlemen were Mr. CLAY always argued, Receive these petitions, and much of this clamor will cease. The result shows he was right When I had the honor of being in Congress in 1339, while when I say that, during the period of three or four months, we had what were called abolition petitions presented here, signed by more than one hundred thousand men and women. Like the chamomile flower, "the more it is trouden up by the faster it grows;" this right of petition, when denied, was most earnestly asserted. How stands the fact now? We must earnestly asserted. How stands the fact now? We ture who made these propositions are not fanatics. They are true sons of the old North State. They live in the most Yes, Democratic Speaker, and still no bill for the reclamation of abolition petition has been presented. Hence the Union will not be dissolved because of this aggression. This aggression has ceased. No, sir; there is no danger to this Union from

> "Whose only grievance is excess of ease, pain, and plenty their disease.

When they cannot war against the twenty-first rule they will form peace societies. Noble motives prompt them in this. These agitators, comprising a small portion of our Northern people, not only seek distinction by their noisy opposition to slavery, but they contend, among other things, for what they term "the rights of women.". I do not know what are the rights they claim, whether they think women should vote, hould come to Congress, &c. ; but if they give to the New England women more rights than those our North Carolina women have, they will not have a republican Government. Some of these agitators do not believe any judge has a right to administer an oath ; they do not acknowledge

of any magistrate. Such people deserve our pity or con-tempt. They ought not to be reasoned with; denunciation, ike the storm upon the traveller, but makes them fold the cloak of prejudice closely around them and go on with more energy; forbearance towards their follies, as it did with their ight of petition, like the influences of the sun, will drive them to the shades of retirement.

But complaint is made against the North because they will

ot stop the agitation and aggression of these fanatics. How can they stop them? New York cannot quiet the disturbances of her anti-renters. A mob in the city of New York last year, because of some misunderstanding between two actors, nearly destroyed a valuable building and caused the death of many persons. Massachusetts, some years ago, could not, in her peaceful borders, prevent the destruction of a convent. Dorrism nearly produced civil war in Rhode Island. Philadelphia has had a church destroyed and an abolition hall burnt wa by her staid population.

If these terrible atbreaks cannot be prevented, how car the Northern people suppress fanaticism? And yet we are told by gentlemen the Union will be dissolved unless this agi-

tion ceases. Who can reason with fanaticism? "You may as well go stand upon the beach, And bid the main flood 'bate his usual height: You may as well use question with the wolf, Why he hath made the ewe bleat for the lamb; You may as well forbid the mountain pines To was their high tops, and to make no noise, When they are frutted with the gus s of Heaven,"

try to suppress fanaticism by reason and by law. We give more importance to these agitators than they disposed to interfere with slavery in the States. It is a great nistake. Our Quakers, in North Carolina and elsewhere are all opposed to slavery. In 1824, I think, Mr. R. M. Saunders presented one of their petitions here. The Quakers in all countries are among our best population. They are industrious, sober, orderly. They try and do unto others as they wish others to do unto them, but they are no agitators. It is a part of their religion to oppose slavery. Every year they express, in mild terms, their opposition to it. I received from my district, a few days since, a paper, before me, from ne of the best men I ever knew-a Quaker. It is entitled Minutes of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting, held at New Garden, Guildford county, 11th month, 1849." They of send a memorial to the Senate and House of Representatives. in which they say :

"Your memorialists further show that they believe themselves conscientiously constrained to bear their testimony against the unrighteous system of slavery. Many of them have against the u-righteous system of slavery. Many of them have made pecuniary sacrifices to obtain a quiet conscience; and they respectfully ask Congress to take the subject under de-liberation, and legislate for its amelioration or extinction as far as they constitutionally can, for we believe it to be antiliberation, and legislate for its ameteoration of extending liberation, and legislate for its ameteoration of extending liberation, and legislate for its ameteoration of extending the far as they constitutionally can, for we believe it to be anti-christian in practice, inasmuch as it is at variance with the Divine precept of 'd ing to others as we would they should do to us.' We believe it to be anti-republican, because it does not accord with the declaration of American independence; with that self-evident truth that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

"And we suggest, for your consideration, the propriety of our Government acknowledging the independence and nationality of the Republic of Liberia, and extending to her the same comity as other nations.

"Your memorialists and petitioners desire that you may be guided and influenced in your legislation by that wisdom which guided and influenced in your legislation by that wisdom which

Now, sir, I think I have proved that this newborn zeal for legislation to enable us to recover fugitive slaves, is all them were slaveholder. I know one who emancipated fifty

nent is made, others will be made, and disunion will be the nevitable consequence.

But though the Legislature of Massachusetts did wrong in this instance, it does not follow that while our present Con-stitution stands she would interfere with slavery in the Southern States. If it evinces a disposition to interfere, it admits lso the want of power under the Constitution. Our State Legislatures sometimes do silly things. They resolve one year against the resolves of the year before. But I wish to call the attention of my colleague, (Mr. Clineman,) who no doubt regards these Massachusetts resolutions as an "aggression," to some proceedings of the last Legislature of our State. We had before us, in the winter of 1848-'49, a proposition to We had before us, in the winter or 1930-1931 canvass amend our State constitution. In the gubernatorial canvass at 1848 an issue unwisely was made upon the propriety of the constitution a provision which requires that all voters for the Senate shall own fifty acres of land. The Democrats raised the cry of "free suffrage." The Whig candidate—a most estimable gentleman—was understood to oppose free suffrage. As might have been ex-pected, the Democrato nearly elected their candidate in a State that gave Taylor mora than eight thousand majority over Case. But when the proposition was brought forward to amend our constitution, some of the members from my colengue's (Mr. CLINGMAN) district were earnest in advocating the "white basis." They probably remembered what my colleague said in his speech in December, 1847, of the "white race being superior to the black; of course a country filled with the former is more vigorous and prosperous than one filled with a mixed race."

When the proposition was before the Legislature, other amendments were offered beside that relating to "free suf-

That I may be understood, let me state, that by our State constitution, the House of Commons is composed of members elected from the counties "according to their federal p pula-The article seems to have been copied from the stitution of the United States, which Massachusetts wished to amend in 1843-the "third clause of the second section of the first article." One western gentleman proposed in the

North Carolina Legislature:

"And be it further enacted, That the constitution be so amended as to provide that the Senate shall hereafter be apportioned among the several counties of this State, according to the Federal basis, and the members of the House of Commons according to the white population of the State." thers whose remarks I have just quoted. In arguing against

For this amendment, forty-one western members voted, Whigs and Democrats, and among them some of the best men in our State. Another gentleman proposed-

"That is all future arrangements of Senatorial districts, the whole number of white population of the State alone shall be divided by fifty, and every liftieth part of the white population alone shall be entitled to a Senator."

Our State Senators are elected according to a basis of taxa-Another gentleman-a bolder and truer man is rarely to be Another gentleman—a boller and truer man is larely to be found—proposed an amendment that "the members of the House of Commons be apportioned according to the white population of the State"—rejected, yeas 36, nays 66. And then, just as these political movements are made in the ern States, another gentleman from my colleague's district (Mr. CLINGMAN) moved that "the words federal popu-

lation" be struck out of the constitution, and "free white population" be inserted in the stead—rejected, 28 to 66.

This last gentleman, a Democrat, thought be would go beyond what the Whig member had proposed. Shall these men be called Abolitionists? No, sir, no; they would be the first to take up arms, if it were necessary, against them. But in Massachusetts a proposition of the like character is de-nounced as being "the result of the wicked designs of ambi-When I had the honor of being in Congress in 1339, while the twenty first rule was in force, I do not think I exaggerate (Mr. Clingman) what shall be said of the "white basis" adocates in Western North Carolina? Are they agitators think the people in Eastern North Carolina will ask my colleague to stop agitation at home before he threatens to dissolve

sir : I have heard the anecdote from Mr. CLAY, that a preach has ceased. No, sir; there is no danger to this Official floating any such casuse. In this happy land the people will occasionally be guilty of some extravagant conduct. We have a numerous population who are not always employed. What was asid by one of England's great poets of her people can I have spent days of rapture in looking at her meanifecent er in Kentucky, when speaking of the beauties of Paradisesurpassed grandeur, in hearing the roar of her mag waterfalls, second only to the great cataract of the North; and while I gazed for hours, lost in admiration at the power of Him who, by his word, created such a country as this and gratitude for the blessings he had scattered upon it. I ught that if Adam and Eve, when driven from Paradise, had been near this land, they would have thought themselve in the next best place to that they had left. I could but nk-I hope reverently-of what was told the children of Israel, by their leader, they should have, when he said : " For the Lord thy God bringeth thee into a good land, a

land of brooks of water, of fountains and depths, that spring out of valleys and hills;

"A land of wheat, and barley, and vines, and fig-trees and pomegranates; a land of oil, olive, and honey; a land wherein thou shall cat bread, without scarceness; thou shalt not lack any thing in it; a land whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass."

And to this country, for want of a railroad, the East are strangers. And now, when our patriotic sons at home, fortetting all party calls, are, with united effort, struggling bly to build this road, to make us better acquainted, build up cities in the East, to give our farmers a market for their produce, to stop the tide of emigration, to bind the East and West together in indissoluble bonds of interest and af-fection, our ears are saluted here with the hoarse brawling of sunion, and we are invited to contemplate the glories of a Southern confederacy, in which Virginia and South Carolina are to have great cities, to be supported by the colony or or plantation of North Carolina!—a Southern confederacy, which the rulers will lead us into an unholy crusade, as far as Vera Cruz, to conquer territory, to give the "sons of ne Presidents" a market!

When the American army was rejoicing at the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown—when the acclamations of our revolutionary patrio's and their thanks to Providence were poured forth from their grateful hearts—it is said that a Scotchman, whose bullock had been taken to supply the wants of the soldiers, was heard to hout through the army, "Beef! beet! beef!" when he was clamoring for the price of his property. The genius of the illustrious Patrick Henry has given this man an unenviable notoriety. In the minds of the people of North Carolina the name of John Hook will be associated with these advoca'es of disunion and civil war.

But the hearts of the great mass of our people of both parties are right. Our great railroad must and will be built. In a few years, the enlivening sound of the s'eam whisile will by supposing that all who are opposed to slavery are be heard in the recesses of our forests; heautiful villages will spring up among us, and the "little hills shall rejoice on every side;" the "valleys shall stand so thick with corn that

they shall laugh and sing." Yes, sir, we will build this road ; and with the electro-magnetic telegraph, we can communicate news in a frw hours to places distant hundreds of miles. And let insurrection take place, our gailant mountain boys-and among the first of them the "white basis" members of our Legislature will come down by thousands to our aid. They will come " as the rinds come when navies are stranded."

But I mus hurry on. Inexorable, relentless time will no stey his march, even to hear me speak of the future glories North Carolina. I come now to another reason assigned by some why we should think of disunion. It was also referred to in the South

ern address. It is the "notorious Gott's resolution." Now, what is it? I have a copy before me. In D cember, 1848, Mr. Gorr offered this resolution. It had to Southern gentlemen an offensive preamble, "of the traffic in hussan beings," &c., but the resolution is as follows:

If I understand correctly the opinions of Mr. CLAY, in his recent and former speeches, he has expressed his willingness that the slave-trade in this District should be abolished. But because he was a candidate for the Presidency, he has been called an abolitionist. But I have strong Southern authority to support Gott's resolution. A distinguished Senator from Alabama—one very worthy of the place he adorns, a gentleman of ability, of dignified senatorial deportment, respected by all who know him, and I am proud to say, a native of my own State, (Mr. Kinc)—in a recent debate in the Senate used very strong language upon this subject. This gentleman had so good a character that even John Tyler conferred office on him without injuring him. He said, very properly, "he on him without injuring him. He said, very properly, "he asked no act of Congress to carry slavery any where." The Senator is opposed to the Wilmot proviso, as I am; and I concur with bim entirely in what he says of abolishing slavery in this District. I have an extract from his remarks, which will print, not having time to read them.

Mr. KING, of Alabama, said :

Mr. Kino, of Alabama, said:

"That whether the Congress of the United States has, under the Constitution, the right to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia or not, it would be as gross a violation of good faith towards Maryland and Virginia as if it had been expressly prohibited in the Constitution, as long as those States remained slaveholding States.

"With regard to what is called the slave trade, Thave never seen the day—and Senators are aware of it, I presume, from the course I have pursued heretofore—when I was not willing to pass a law for the purposs of breaking up those miserable establishments that exist under the very eyes of Congress itself, and are so offensive to many gentlemen, who feel perhaps more sensitive on the subject than I do. I am free to say that I am the very last man who would be willing to encourage such establishments."

Did Gott's resolution propose to do any thing else but bresk up these miserable establishments " And yet, if this And yet, if this s done, the Nashville Convention will be instructed to prepare for a dissolution of the Union! And a bill was re from a committee, I learn of the last Congress, of which the gentleman from Mississippi (Mr. Baows) was a member, to abolish the slave-trade in this District. Again, I say, sir, that had General Cass been elected President we should not

have heard all this outcry. Here allow me to say, sir, that no man in his senses be lieves Congress will ever be guilty either of the outrage or the folly of abolishing slavery in this District, excepting, of course, those fanatics who think the constitution is an "agreement with helh" If any sensible man ever thought of it, I would ask him cui bono? Would it not inevitably lead to the abolition the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. Mann) spoke of? Would it not separate husband and wife, parent and child? Any owner of a slave can take him out of the District of? Would it not separate husband and wife, parent and child? Any owner of a slave can take him out of the District when he pleases. And what would be the condition of these free negroes now married to slaves? I do not believe we will also, which, in the opinion of many, are full compensation for the evils attending it. Our past history test first to the fact. Though we although he had pledged himself to veto the bill, I believe he would do it.

Such an act would justly be regarded by the Southern

The gardeness free hat constitution is destroyed?

Again, says the gentleman from Virginia:

"While it must be admitted that strong objections may be urged to the institution of slavery, yet there are advantages also, which, in the opinion of many, are full compensation for the evils attending it. Our past history test first to the fact that it elevates the character of the white man. Though we have been in a numerical minority in the Union for fifty years, we during the greater part of that period we have managed to control the destinies of this nation."

Such an act would justly be regarded by the Southern States as a declaration of hostility on the part of the North, and they would act accordingly.

[Here Mr. STANLY was interrupted by Mr. HILLIARD, o Alabama, which led to some controversy between Mr. Hill Mr. Chairman, when I was interrupted by the gentleman from Alabama, I was speaking, I think, of the aggression on

Yes, the South has been terribly oppressed. Out of the sixty years since the constitution was framed, the South has had the Presidents all of the time, except twelve years and one month. We have had our share of other high offices. How is it now? In the midst of this formidable invasion of our rights, when the abolitionists are so strong, we have elected a Southern President, who was said to be the owner of more than two hundred slaves, and that, too, against the nomines of the Baltimore Convention, when it was said "there was

no slaveholder on their ticket." We have a Southern Speaker, with whose manner of discharging the duties of the chair I have no complaint to make. And what a spectacle his election presented! So strong was party feeling with some gentlemen from the non-slaveholding States, that when the issue was a Northern or a Southern Speaker, they refused to vote for a Northern Speaker. This speaks volumes; party feelings must always influence us, must always be felt by the North and West, and Southern rotes will always be wanted.

some other aggression, troubles us.

Let me record another instance of Northern liberality.

Mr. Southard, of New Jersey, was chosen President of the Senate; he died, and did the North practice aggression on us? Did they elect a Northern President of No; they elected a distinguished Senator (Mr. MANGUM) from my own State. Mark, Mr. Chairman, my argument is not to defend the

When Gen. Harrison died, Mr. Tyler became Preside

abolitionists or agitators, but to prove that the North, the great body of the people, are not enemies to the South. And, pursue this argument, how did the votes stand in the last residential election ? I have not time to make a very accurate statement, but this

In what are called the free States : Taylor received ...... 925.646 votes. In the slaveholding States : Taylor and Fillmore received...........435,378 

Whole number of votes, (excluding South Carolina, whose electors are chosen by her Legislature)... 2,875,292 Majority of Union men over Free-Soilers and Abolitionists, only two millions five hundred and eighty-three thousand three hundred and fifteen-more than two millions five hundred thousand!

Taylor's majority, although he was reported to be the owne of two hundred slaves, was more than one hundred thousand. And this majority in the non-slaveholding States, where he was opposed by General Cass, who is reported to have said he thanked God he never owned a slave, said he never would, and prayed for the abolition of slavery! Is this hostility to the South ! No, sir; the true secret is,

he spoils are gone; some editors are turned out of office. others are disappointed, or, to use the words of my colleague, Mr. CLINGMAN,) in an extract before me, as reported in the Appendix to the Congressional Globe, 28th Congress, first session, page 285, he said of the Democratic party, what I would say of the dough-faces "It will be found, on examination, this party is governed

by seven principles—as John Randolph is reported to have said of Thomas Ritchie—the five loaves and the two fishes. Or, in the language of John C. Calhoun, late a distinguished leader of this party, remarkable for his powers of generalization and condensation, and who was thereby enabled to analy ze, simplify, and reduce to a single element these various principles, it is the 'spoils of party,' held together by the co-hesive power of public plunder." And here, sir, let me say another word to my colleague,

I hope he will pause in his hasty course until he hears fr. m the people in the eastern part of the State. In case of civil war they are more likely to be injured by insurrection and by foreign foes than my colleague's constituents. According to the census of 1840, as nearly as I can ascer-tain, in the district of my colleague, (Mr. Outlaw,) from

the northeastern counties, the population was-White. 

Now, what is the coadition among my colleague's " white basis" constituents ? Buncombe district, (CLINGNAN'S)-white population,

60,039; slave ditto, 9,229. These eastern districts are on the sea-coast. My colleague' s the most inaccessible pant to a foreign foe in the United States. I do not believe, sir, the good people he represents are willing to engage in a foreign or civil war for any aggression yet committed, and not even to recover fugitive slaves; and I do not believe my colleague's constituents ever lost a slave by Northern abolitionists. Bad men sometimes steal our slaves. If that aggression can be slopped by my colleague he will do us great service.

I hope to be allowed to speak to my colleague for my constituents, to speak as an Eastern man, and as a slaveholder. If, in the providence of God, any calamity befalls us on account of our slaves, I shall be among my people. I shall not inquire, as the servant of my friend from Kentucky (Mr. Maranall) dd, when he told his servant John he wished him to go to Mexico. "Master," said John, after reflection, "how far is the camp from the battle ground?" His master has the camp from the battle ground?" His master has a standard from the battle ground?" His master has a standard from the battle ground?" His master has been declined to go. My affections, my interest, my duty, all bind me with hooks of stead to my hard from the standard from of steel to my home. The graves of my forefathers, for several generations, are there; the dearest friends I have on

copy of his speech early in the session.

I protest, as a Southern man, against the doctrines of this

speech, delivered before the gentleman's constituents in Auust, 1849; and I think if copies of it were circulated in New Mexico, and the people understood the gentleman was an in-fluential man at home, and in Congress, it would be enough of its if to exclude slavery from that Territory.

Mr. Asur. The gentleman to whom you refer is not in the House, he is not in the city, he is sick. Mr. STANLY. I am sorry to hear of the gentleman's illthough I shall make no remarks of an offensive charac-

ter. If I had heard he had been taken sick shortly after the delivery of this speech, I should not have been at a loss to account for his illness. I am obliged to my colleague for the

motive which prompts the interruption.

The gentleman (Mr. Meane) says: "We are no pro-The gentleman (Mr. Meane) says: "We are no propagandists of slavery; had we no slaves, there is not a man
present who would vote to bring them among us." I am
glad to hear the declaration. The gentleman probably concurs in opinion with my colleague, (Mr. Clergeman,) when
he said a country filled with the white race "is more vigorous
and prosperous than one filled with a mixed race." My colleague shake: his head; he will find, on examination, I am
right in stating what he said—a sentiment that will answer
better for the hills of Buncombe, than for eastern lowlands,
for negroes thrive in some-parts of our country where white better for the hills of Buncombe, than for eastern lowlands, for negroes thrive in some parts of our country where white people can hardly live. The bilious lever is sometimes, in the lowlands very fatal to the white race. I have heard a highly intelligent gentleman, and a large slaveholder, say he had never known a negro to die from the bilious fever. But I should be glad to be informed why the gentleman from Virginia would not bring them among us, if they "elevate our character"—a sentiment that meets my hearty condemnation; for, if it be true, the "owner of sixty slaves" is more elevated in his character than the owner of five: then he who holds in his character than the owner of five; then he who holds no negroes cannot he elevated in his character! I know a certain district in the United States in which it was urged that a Democratic candidate, "the owner of sixty slaves," was more worthy of public confidence than a Whig, who did not own half a dozen; but it was not argued that the large slave owner was more "elevated in character" for that reason. Again, the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. Meade) says: "The situation of Virginia is more critical than any of her sisters. She has a slave population of near half a million, whose value is chiefly dependent on Southern demand."

Now, sir, if I understand this, it means that Virginia slave owners raise negroes to sell. If so, I say it is horrible to think of. I have spent most of my life among slaveholders—religious men of all denominations are slaveholders—but I do not know one man in my district or my State who raises negroes for "Southern demand"—to sell. I should be achamed no negroes cannot he elevated in his character! I know a

groes for "Southern demand"—to sell. I should be ashames

to own such a constituent. Again says the gentleman from Virginia : "The whole ci-

Again says the gentleman from Virginia: "The whols civilized world is now uniting in a crusade against American slavery, even where it now exists."

I do not admit the correctness of this assertion; but if it be true, how, I ask, shall we improve our condition by dissolving the Union? Both the great parties of the country admit their obligation to stand by the constitution. What will be the crusade when that constitution is destroyed?

The gentleman from Indiana (Mr. Firon) has already commented on this remark, and I have but one word to add. Are we not now, by our share in the great offices of the re-public, still controlling the destinies of this nation?

But the gentleman says: "The diffusion of our population a essential to our very existence." It may be so in Virginia, but it is not so in North Carolina; if we are let alone, we can manage ours. Is this dif-fusion to go on indefinitely? If New Mexico is admitted into the Union, and abolishes slavery, where will the diffu-sion then be? I see no danger to our existence in the adnission of New Mexico as a free State. I had rather have her there than to have a free Mexican State not under the influence of our constitution and laws.

But in the gentleman's speech he takes another view of the subject. He says:

"If in the mean time the Mexican States on the Rio Grande should be annexed, (as they will be, if they are to come in as tree States,) we shall be entirely out off from the hope we now have of letting off this population, then probably valueless as property, among the people already, to a certain extent, homogeneous, and with whom they may readily and naturally amalgamate."

Now, sir, this is worse, if possible, than the idea of "Southern demand." Here is a bright picture for the citizens of New Mexico! Amalgamate! What will the inheritors of the old Castilian blood and spirit say to that ?

votes will always be wanted.

A majority of the Cabinet are from slaveholding States. In the Supreme Court we have five to four. In the army and navy, we have our full share. Of the foreign ministers we have more than our share. But still "Gott's resolution," or some other aggression, troubles us.

Let me record another instance of Northern liberality. Mexico. I wish now, sir, to say a word to some of the agitators on this floor, who have been guilty of unkind and cruelly-uncharitable speeches. A gentleman from Massachusetts, (Mr. Mann.) who has the reputation of being a man of letters and of cultivated taste, gave utterance to expressions which he must have known were offensive to every Southern man in

this House. He drew a horrid picture of the probable conequences of disunio n. Some expressions are, I think, modified in his printed speech; and my blood ran cold to hear a gentleman of his age and standing apparently delight in wounding our feelings. will not repeat the expressions to which I refer. I could not speak them in respectful terms. Sir, I have no personal acquaintance with the ge Massachuset's; but if he be the man I have heard of, as posments-if his speech is a fair exhibition of his feeling, I fear he will furnish another melancholy example of the truth of the assertion that a cultivated intellect is not always attended with a cultivated heart-that a man's mind may be "rich with the spoils of time," and his heart of flinty coldness. The gentleman is not unknown to the country as an able and eloquent lecturer to literary institutions; his services in the cause of education have been valuable; he has proved in that offensive speech that with him "knowledge is a Swiss mercenary, ready to combat either in the works of sin or under the banner of righte usness"—ready to give wholesome advice to young men when entering upon life, or to fan the flames of fanaticism.

The gentleman seemed to speak without regret at the thought that "domestic fury and fierce civil strife" should reign among us. What reason, what motive, can prompt the gentleman from Massachusetts thus to speak to us? It cannot give him strength at home. No one accuses any Northern man of wishing to establish or extend slavery; and if the gentl man will withdraphimself from his philosophical reveries for a few moments, wask himself, with the remembrance that there is an eye that sees the thoughts of the heart, "What good have I done, what good did I hope to do, by outraging the feelings of any of the members of this House" I think the "still small voice" will tell him, None, none! fear the gentleman will prove it is true,

"Heart-merit wanting, mount we ne'er so high, Our height is but the gibbet of our name."

If I might presume to advise one so competent to give advice as the gentleman from Massachusetts is, I would tell him, Better keep at your lectures—have them published and puffed by your friends. In this way, good may be achieved by your efforts. Your eloquence may be prefixed—extracts may be published from your lectures, exciting the admiration of sophomores and of men. But I beg the gentleman to remember, that though he speaks with the "tongues of men and of angels, and has not charity," he will become as "sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal." And another gentleman, from Pennsylvania, (Mr. Stevens,) in a speech which was apparently deliberately prepared, gave ulterance to sentiments, clothed in language that a Southern gentleman would not use to a respectable negro. I expected some ultraism from this source. That gentleman is known as a man of excessive hunanity. And since anti-masonary will no longer answer for a hobby-horse—since Morgan's mysterious disappearance has ceased to agitate the public mind in the North, the gentisman must preach against the horrors and the despotism of slavery. I hope his next speach will be fit to be read in the families of Pennsylvania farmars. I hope the gentleman will find some other Morgan to frighten the grandmothers and whilden of Pennsylvania right. But Job in the trade in the families of Pennsylvania mith. children of Penusylvania with. But I ask him to let us alone. Mr. Chairman, if these gentlemen's minds were not as in-

cossible to reason as their hearts seem devoid of kindne

toward a portion of their countrymen, I would gladly ask them to listen to some few facts. When I was a young man, and first observed public events in North Carolina, free negroes voted as white citizens. Free negroes voted in North Carolina until an amendment was made in our State constitution in 1835. And in the town of Newbern, where I lived, according to my recollection, out of three hundred voters, sixty of them were free blacks. And when the proposition was made in our convention, in 1835, to deprive free negroes of the privilege of voting, it was opposed by some of our ablest and best men. I think the vote stood sixty-five for abolishing the right, and sixty ogainst it; and among these sixty are recorded the names of Judges Gaston and Daniel, then two of the judges of our supreme court; Mr. Rayner, favorably known here; and I think, also, Mr. Montgomery and Mr. Charles Fisher, afterwards members of Congress from my State, and other gentlemen whose names I cannot now remember. sir, what is the effect of the sgitation of abolitionists? Have you improved the condition of the free negroes? Far from it. And if the same proposition were submitted to a State convention in North Carolina at this day, not one man would vote earth are there; there I expect to live, and there I hope to for it. Within my own memory, emarcipation of a slave earth are there; there I expect to now, their fate will be my die; and whatever calamity may come, their fate will be my fate, "their God will be my God."

I wish now, sir, to say a word to the gentleman from Virginia, (Mr. Mranz,) who did me the honor to send me a slave was made free. But these fanalies circulated papers slave was made free. But these fanalies in space I have stave was made free. But these fanatics circulated papers containing doctrines like those avowed in the spreches I have referred to, and the inevitable consequence was that legisla-tion interfered, for insurrection was talked of in the infamous papers of the abolitionists, and a feeling that it was necessary to protect our firesides and our homes compelled us to be caroful. And how is it now? Emancipation is a difficult matter. In extraordinary cases our Legislature s metimes emancipates. Our laws allow slaves to be emancipated by will, but not to remain in the State As the public mind be came excited, our people thought it wrong to allow emanci-pation when free negroes could visit our Northern States and